/77 cont./

548 648 The civilizado /civilized/ element. A civilizado according to the Guajiro concept is one who does not belong to their community or the mestizo who has adopted a culture different from theirs. The classification covers people on the Atlantic coast both Columbian and Venezuelan (negroid for the most part) and some other white or mestizo groups in the interior of Columbia.

This civilizado element puts the native on an inferior plane not only where their material culture is concerned, which they despise, but also their spiritual aspect. They look with compassion and curiosity at the manifestations of this and find them difficult to accept. They regard them as savages, and they respect them only because they are strong. This has provoked in the native a feeling of suspicion and misgiving in all that is dear to him, and he has become resentful to a point that he hopes to find a similar failing in the white man in order to reproach him with it.

The cultural norms of a social and moral aspect that they receive from the civilizado are precisely what lead to the systematic destruction of their organization. Generally, the white men who go to La Guajira are men who have to be absent from their families for various reasons, and they find the solution for their biological needs in the Guajiro woman. Their temporary residence there will not permit them (as it might when they make it their permanent home) to buy a girl for a wife, because the price is high for their small means, and it would cause /78/ problems with their own families, so that a man of this type solves the situation by making an easy arrangement with an Indian woman, who gives herself to him in return for presents or a money payment on each occasion.

The Guajiro woman who has emigrated from her district sooner or later returns home and finds in the peninsula a propitious medium for the life she began when away, because beside finding it difficult to obtain a legitimate source of income, her prime needs continually demand immediate satisfaction.

/145 cont./
567 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro
● 648 slavery among these natives, which was at its height during the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the [114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio:
La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

/146 cont./

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discourses/. Madrid, by
don Antonio de Sancha. 1787.
1st III, 12. NOTE: all italics
are ours.

Further on, he repeats the reference in these terms: "The value given them by the buyers is represented by three kinds of things. For the pearls, the foreigners give them: firearms, nails, and even slaves, in addition to cloth brought from Europe...." (2)

2. Ibid., 1st V, 19.

More explicit in relation to the problem is the following paragraph: "The Guajiro are fishers of pearls which they sell to the dealers, who in turn sell them to certain brigs and packetboats in exchange for spirits, Negro slaves, and firearms." (3)

3. Ibid., 2nd XII, 187.

And finally he ends by outlining the duties that these Negro slaves carried out and the recial mixing that resulted between them and the Indians in the paragraph which we transcribe as follows: "...He then gave me two rather useful pieces of information which I, impelled by zeal for the good of the Guajiro Nation and of the Monarchy, now retell. /147/ The first is the provision of arms and knowledge of their use which they get from constant trade and contact with foreigners, and the second is that through these /foreigners/ have now been introduced male and female Negroes and intermarriage with the same Indians who buy them and keep them as slaves, and this leads not only to an increase in the number of people among the Guajiro but also to an increase in a diversity of fearsome races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who, united with the Guajiro, will make this Nation formidable

/147 cont./

175 ever more and more and more difficult to conquer. In fact,
567 when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came
648 to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red
● uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 159.

BOND SERVICE

566 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are clans which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantile/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

/195 cont./

682 Upper La Guajira who arrived in Uribia suffering from measles and asked for hospitality in the house of a friend of hers of the well-to-do class. This friend, the owner of the house, could not deny her request and as a result caught the measles and died. The family of the dead woman demanded a very high compensation payment from the woman who brought the disease.

One must also consider the homicide caused, according to the Guajiro mentality by the breaking of a taboo. The Guajiro woman during her periods of pregnancy and menstruation, the murderer, and the participants in funeral rites are at all times bearers of a malignant magic power that can infect, hurt, or kill young children and people seriously ill. If one of these tabooed people presents himself at a house where there is one of those liable to this evil influence, and this person dies within a period such that it can be presumed that the death was the result of the transgression of the taboo, his maternal relatives declare the tabooed person guilty of the death or illness of the child when this occurs, or of the seriousness of the sickness in question.

682 When a Guajiro's death is caused by a white, that is, by an individual who does not belong to the community, the idea of 648 blame is governed by the norms just set forth. At the present time they generally submit /196/ to Guajiro law as the punitive form, but customarily in the peninsula, one of these deaths is paid for by the death of three civilizados /nonnatives/, since many Indians still believe that every civilizado is part of a homogeneous consanguineous family group. Others know this is not so, but nevertheless the death of an Indian by a white gives rise to strong reprisals and even to the death of the white man. If the murderer remains in the peninsula territory or near it, it is almost certain that he will be killed tragically by some relative of the murdered man, who will wait, although already well paid, for some suitable occasion to kill him.

685 Other kinds of aggressive acts are those involved in the theft of food, livestock, and personal belongings.

The first two are the most common in the peninsula, to the point that some authors and travelers have considered theft to be

[4 cont.]
221 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

221 The conditions of their geographical situation and the oc-
361 cupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted
233 themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a ranchería ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

177 Only in those localities where the influences of civilizados
361 [generally, nonnatives] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

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175 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered.
648 Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores when they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Ríohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

175 These contacts with European civilization were slowly
177 changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

[5 cont.]

175 177 into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in [648] La Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives presents.

105 175 177 The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistadors, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been stated by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yucca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drinks.

[648] With the establishment of stock raising centers by the Spaniards in the regions bordering on La Guajira, the natives found a new source of subsistence. They started a series [6] of thefts from the haciendas which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of La Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His state as a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and asses, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their battles, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador; as in addition to this decisive element, [439] they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[44 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

[44 cont.]
411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
●648 tions.
724 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
411 stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
798 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
782 quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
593 which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
278 quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
458 anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[52 cont.]

753 lacking this support, certain practices of a magic character
755 which place him — always respecting due proportions — on a
*756 plane of equality with the spirit or at least give him the possibility of warding off its harmful effects from him or his fellows. In the methods of healing, as will be seen as we progress in this chapter, the individual makes use, either directly or indirectly through an intermediary — the medicine man in this case, of the benevolent powers of the instrument causing the sickness, or else those of another spirit — under whatsoever materialization — as strong or stronger than the original cause of the sickness, in order to banish the illness.

755 The value of the Guajiro shaman, or medicine man, as
*756 a curer, as we were able to observe in Chapter II, lies in the superiority conceded to him through his constant communication with the world of the spirits, which places him, so to speak, on a plane of equality with them. Nevertheless, in the aspect of Guajiro medicine four different factors intervene, which we can define in general as follows:

1) Medicine practiced directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

2) Medicine by divination, dependent or independent of the shaman, which creates another social group, not so clearly defined: that of the diviner.

757 3) Medicine which might be called household, independent of the shaman and of the diviner, which is applied through pragmatic knowledge of the curative value of certain plants, or through the observation of particular customs related to taboo, which as we shall see later, are of a preventative type.

194 4) Medicine practiced by foreigners. This last factor must
● 648 have its origins in ethnographic history, and it appears to us
*756 quite difficult to clarify. It deals with the medical intervention of curers from the [53] Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, whom the Guajiro consult in certain cases. These inhabitants of the Sierra belong to native groups included by Professor Rivet in the large Chibcha linguistic family (38). Our supposition of contacts between

38. Rivet, Paul. Conferencias dictadas en el Instituto Etnológico Nacional

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[Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

[67 cont.]

826 754 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

●648 757 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 751 278 843 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventative or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnues or Piesies, a small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between Ara-ura and Itujoro, the Güaririües, a mere handful of Indians under the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Socuanas, Arapainayúes, Sámuriues, Araurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes, strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete, Ipuanas and Epinayuos abound. In the neighbourhood of Anipana the Ipuanas and Jusayues are in great force; at the Teta nearly all are Jusayues, and near Las Guardias at Guaroro, Sapuanas; these three latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw. They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs, and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force, pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back. The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking in the Teta, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations, especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal Cocina chiefs are Alyechipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an Uriana, and rules the country about Anipana and Yuripicho—he is the worst and most feared of the lot; Perón, an Arpushaina, another devil—he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Masapain, a Jousyú, lords it all about the Teta; and Morojildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 ●648 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

342 The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The [513] rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palámaler*) [417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. 361 The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being 621 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is [712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the [552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct [423] name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are 103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha 443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta 592 Espada, is Guarorpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirau. 621 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chémunao; chief, José Agustin, a Jallariú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epioyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Merumay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epioyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joroy; chief, Majutó, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aiplapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guinoua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipon, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves to violation of the dead, and said that they would only treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. They received a special grant from the government of Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in the western low country, were usually accounted the centre of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

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CHAPTER 6

Indiscreet Investigation

123 THAT heading really describes our activities during the next few weeks, while we travelled round among the Indians of Macuira, visiting them in their ranchos and questioning them about all sorts of things. The Indians were not at all self-conscious and gladly and frankly told us all [648] we wished to know. They had not been bullied by white people, as so many other Indians have, and we took care not to make fun of their customs. Because of that, they had no inhibitions. The monks assured us that on the whole we should be able to make the acquaintance of the Indians in more peaceful conditions in the Macuira Hills than elsewhere in the peninsula. They had put it about that we belonged to quite a different clan from the Creoles, which our appearance seemed to confirm, and they thought that it would never occur to the Indians to avenge themselves on us, if one of them had been insulted by a white person somewhere else. Of course, we ought to be careful, they added, and promised to give us a reliable servant. The snug little whitewashed hut in which we lived was to be at our disposal as long as we remained in Macuira. From it we could go off for trips of a few days, as it suited us, and so get to know the whole area.

115 We got our servant, an unusually nice Guajiro called Francisco who had often travelled with Father Crispin. Francisco was peace-loving, but not at all afraid of his fellow Indians. That was a great advantage. In dealing with primitive peoples you must always keep calm, especially when they appear aggressive.

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riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself several wives. Infrequently white men have married into Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

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usually lasted. Here, of course, the girl's family had power and the means to check that all was well. In such marriages the husband was considered liable to provide the household equipment, as well as paying a bride-price.

If a Creole marries a Guajiro girl according to the Catholic rites there are all sorts of complications, even if he has paid the bride-price, for the European concept of the father's rights conflicts with the Indian matriarchal law. Problems of relationship and inheritance, the separation of the child from its clan and many other things all provide problems which cause the bride's family a lot of trouble. But that is enough about Indian marriage.

Since all members of a clan are of the same blood, the Indians consider themselves justified in wreaking vengeance on a near relative, if they are unable to lay hands on the actual culprit. This can give rise to a whole chain of acts of vengeance, a real vendetta. In the old days all white people were held to be of one clan, and so the Indians thought that they could avenge an injury inflicted by a white person on the first member of his clan they came across. 'To travel in Guajira is like sitting on a keg of gunpower beside a fire; you are afraid the whole time that a spark will cause a catastrophe', was what used to be said.

Guajiro law always tries to find a scapegoat, and one must remember that when having any dealings with the Indians. If I take a man into my service or merely send him on an errand, I am responsible if anything happens to him and for anything he himself may do to others all the time his mission lasts.

A mother sent her little girl on a donkey to fetch water. The girl took a playmate up on the saddle beside her. The other little girl fell off and hurt herself quite slightly, yet the family had to pay considerable damages.

A mestizo family, receiving unexpected visitors, took an Indian girl to help in the kitchen. The girl cut her finger and her family demanded compensation. After all blood had been shed. The girl was of humble family and thus no large sum could be claimed, yet according to our ideas what had to be paid was a very great deal for a mere cut:

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already have talked with both parties and know their points of view. One can imagine what takes place. The killer's family wishing an amicable settlement: 'It is best that we do not begin a war, brothers,' says their leader. He offers reasonable compensation, paints a picture of the horrors of war, the continual fear of attack, the burning houses, the women violated and enslaved, the blood-feud continuing from generation to generation, and, by way of contrast, describes the calm of peaceful work.

The other side are spoiling for a fight. 'I am rich and need no damages. My men are brave and prepared for a fight. I wish that we measure our strength.'

If a settlement is not arrived at, a fresh meeting is arranged, and meanwhile there is a state of latent war. Even if a fine is agreed upon, peace is not restored until the fine has actually been paid. This is probably done in stages, and that is why the Creoles say that the Indians can kill each other on the instalment system.

To bring about another's death, whether intentionally or unintentionally, has grave consequences for the person responsible. The fine that has to be paid is often ruinous. The homicide becomes indebted to his relatives who have to help him pay. Also, for magical reasons, he has to submit to a lengthy period of isolation and to certain restrictions which prevent him attending to his affairs and make him endure certain privations.

If a white man has killed an Indian, he should try to get to safety outside the peninsula, because even if he pays a fine for manslaughter, the Indians will seek his life. Three white men must die for each Indian killed, according to the old rule. They long insisted on regarding all white people as being of the one clan, though nowadays they know that they are split up into different peoples. They would now never dare extend vengeance for an injury inflicted by a native mulatto to, say, a fair-haired foreigner from the north.

The foregoing are but a few points of Guajiro law which is really much more complicated than these would make it appear. The law ought really to be the same for all, but

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CHAPTER 8

Innocence and the Fertility Dance

MAUANA invited us to visit him again, and we were glad to do so. We liked him and his oasis. Also he taught us a lot, for he was knowledgeable and intelligent, a proper chief who was not called *cacique* just out of politeness, as is the case with many rich mestizos near the border.

The Indians expect a great deal of their chief. He has to be an adroit negotiator, able to uphold the clan's rights and support its members. In war he is the leader who must be in the van and never yield. He must be ever hospitable, a good speaker and in every way a worthy representative. Mauana seemed to be such a chief.

Our only means of repaying his hospitality was to give a great porridge feast—we had a lot of oatmeal with us. The Indians loved our porridge, perhaps because it was reminiscent of their own maize gruel, which we ourselves far preferred. This feast took place on Mauana's next visit to Nazaret, and after it he was eager for us to pay him another visit, promising to show us dancing.

On our arrival we were introduced to the 'princess', his unmarried daughter. Mauana wanted us to photograph her. She was not pretty, but typically Indian in appearance. She had to put on all her finery and her paint, and her mule was saddled and decked out as for a ceremonial occasion. She had gold and coral at her neck, ankles and wrists, and large spiral patterns painted on her cheeks. Her mule had three tails: its own and two artificial ones, such being the fashion then. The girl was no film star: she was as stiff as a ram-rod and not to be thawed. Luckily, her skin looked light on the photograph, as every Guajiro girl desires it to be. Mauana

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Guajiro women are stocky and powerfully built

Below: *Frontier guard—Paraguaipoa*

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[facing p. 145]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
●648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[558] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are